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A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW OF CULTURAL HISTORY IN THE LOWER
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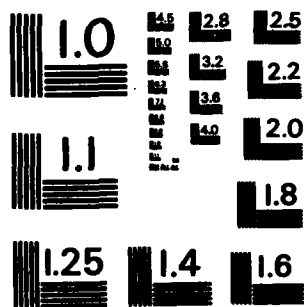
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**A Preliminary Overview of Cultural History
in the Lower Rio Chama, New Mexico**

Penelope Whitten
and
Margaret A. Powers

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A Preliminary Overview
of Cultural History in the
Lower Rio Chama, New Mexico

for

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
Albuquerque District

by

Penelope Whitten
and
Margaret A. Powers

Submitted by
Margaret A. Powers
Principal Investigator

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San Juan County Archaeological Research Center and Library

September 18, 1980

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INTRODUCTION

During the period 2 September through 22 September 1980, the Division of Conservation Archaeology (DCA) of the San Juan County Museum Association completed preliminary cultural resource research in the lower Rio Chama area (figure 1). Work was conducted under the provisions of contract no. DACW 47-80-M-0689 for the Albuquerque District of the Army Corps of Engineers. Donna Roxey, District Archeologist, administered the project for the Corps of Engineers; Margaret Powers, Principal Investigator, directed the project for DCA. Penelope Whitten, DCA Supervisory Archaeologist, was responsible for the research and report preparation. Marsha Jackson, Rosemary Talley, and Laura Holt of the Laboratory of Anthropology and Curtis Schaafsma, New Mexico State Archaeologist, provided valuable assistance in locating records and references. Gigi Bayliss drafted the report illustrations.

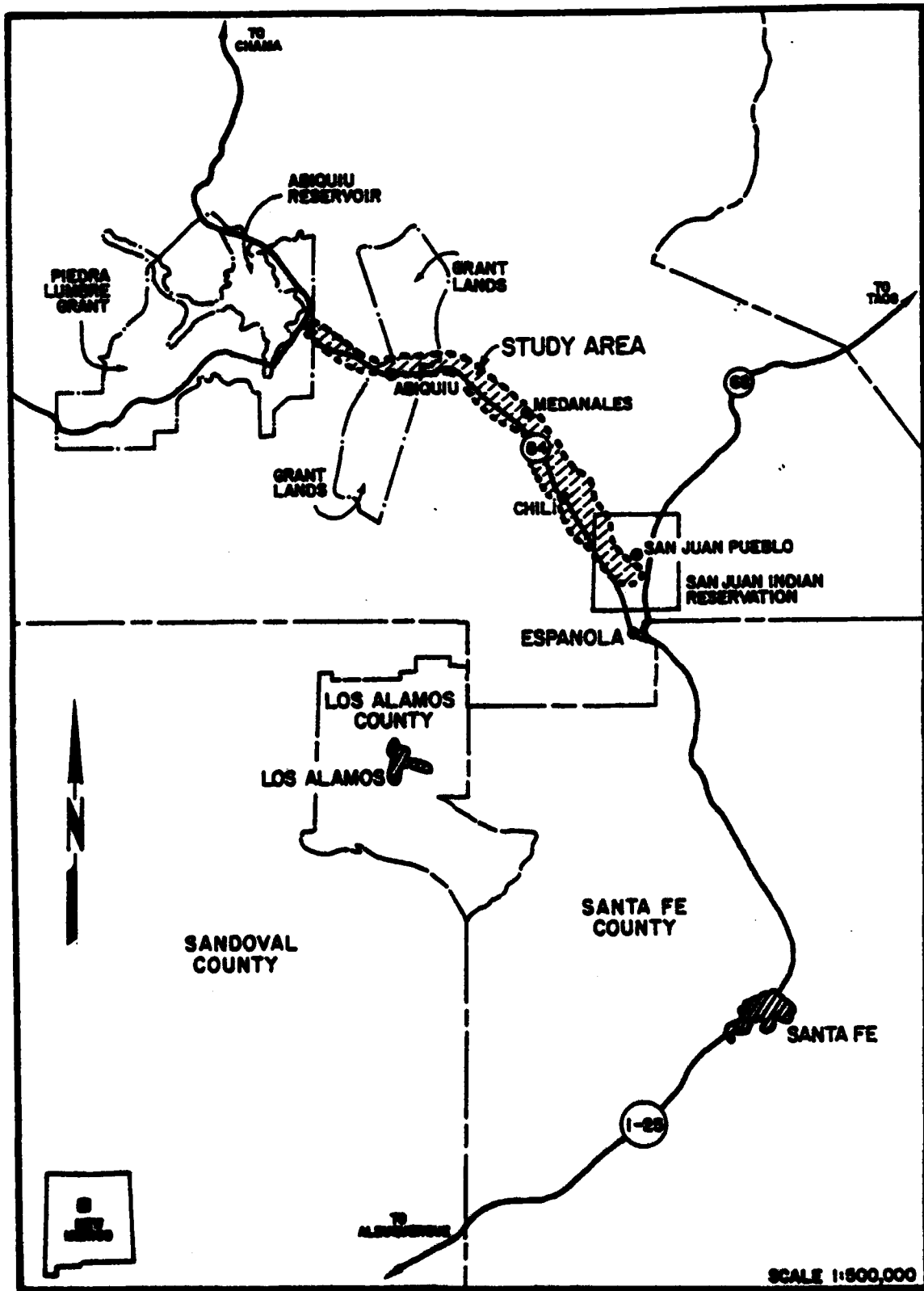


FIGURE 1. LOCATION OF THE RIO CHAMA STUDY AREA

OBJECTIVES AND STUDY METHODS

In order to provide base line data for future Corps of Engineers' work in the lower Rio Chama, this project aims to:

- (1) Identify and evaluate published and unpublished sources documenting the history and prehistory of the study area;
- (2) Summarize briefly the history and prehistory of the lower Chama;
- (3) Document previously recorded sites;
- (4) Provide recommendations for future work including assessment of potential for locating additional cultural resources in the study area.

These objectives were met through limited library and archival research at the Laboratory of Anthropology (LA) of the Museum of New Mexico and the Museum of New Mexico Historical Library in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Approximately 1.5 person/days were employed in obtaining site file data and 2.5 person/days in library and archival research. The methods employed in the study are described below.

Documentation of Cultural Resources

All archaeological sites located within the study area (figure 2) were transferred from the LA site file topographic maps to a second set of USGS topographic maps. Orthophoto maps furnished by the Corps of Engineers provided the basis for determining the limits of the study area. However, differences in scale between the map sets often made accurate definition of the study limits difficult. Since sites were included, rather than excluded, if there was any doubt, some of the inventoried sites probably fall outside the area of immediate study interest. Moreover, limiting the site inventory to the floodplain would have precluded an adequate overview. Substantial portions of the surrounding upland were also included, since the full range of site types present in the lower Chama Valley could not be addressed on the basis of examination of one topographic zone.

Survey forms, site maps, tree-ring information, and historic site inventory records available for each site were photocopied. Summaries of the sites are presented in table 1. These summaries are derived largely from the survey forms. Some topographic settings (when not indicated on the forms) were taken from the maps. Some of the entries under cultural affiliation are based on our own examination of site descriptions. If information derived from excavation differed from information given on the survey forms, the former was used. Letters following the LA number in table 1 specify separate components for multicomponent sites.

Field notes and laboratory analysis forms for excavated sites were not photocopied. Sites for which these data are available at the Laboratory of Anthropology are identified in table 2. Site data and topo maps showing site locations constitute Attachment 1.

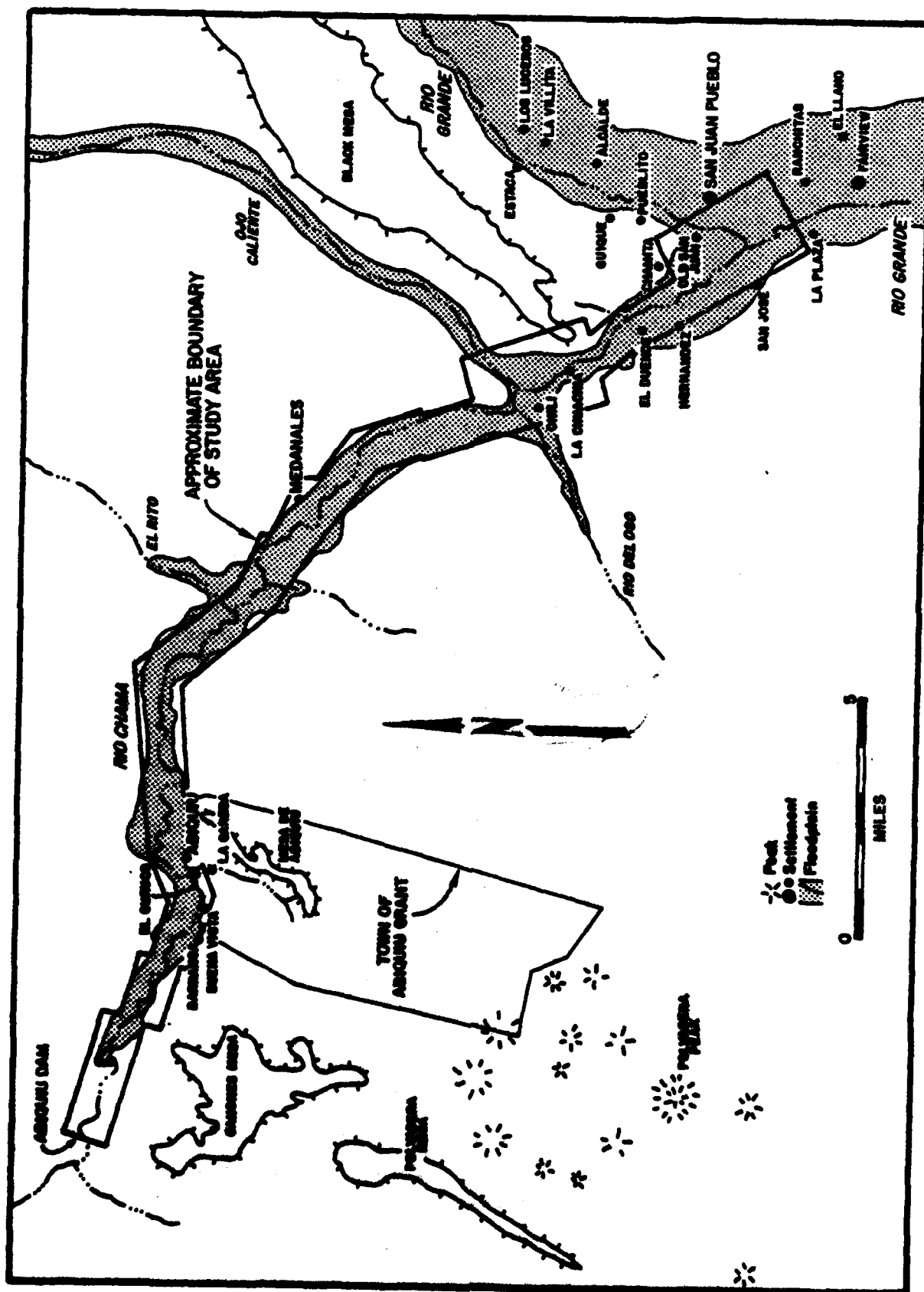


FIGURE 2. DETAIL OF THE LOWER RIO CHAMA

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES

LA NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BASIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SIZE SIZE
229 (A)	Yunge Pueblo P IV - V	habitation	structures, ceramics	valley bottom	unknown
229 (B)	San Gabriel Mission Historic Spanish	mission	structure	valley bottom	unknown
230	P IV	habitation	ceramics	slope, bench	unknown
232	Te'evi P III - P IV	habitation	587 rooms, 33 kivas	mesa top	ca. 300X175 yds.
274	Pochos Pueblo P IV	habitation	1810 rooms, 3+ kivas	mesa top	300 X 300 yds.
275 (A)	A Aguila Ruin P IV	habitation	20+ rooms	low mesa	100 X 300 yds.
275 (B)	P'iquin San Tomas de Abiquiu Historic Spanish	habitation and mission	historic account	low mesa	100 X 300 yds.
280	Leaf Water P III - P IV	habitation	adobe/stone rubble	bluff	unknown
286 (A)	P IV - V	habitation	rubble mounds	valley bottom/slope	200 X 100 yds.
286 (B)	Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu Historic Spanish Post 1725	mission	chapel and settlement	valley bottom/slope	200 X 100 yds.
296	San Juan Pueblo P IV - V	habitation	structures	valley bottom	ca. 400X400m.
298	Taana (East Plaza) P IV	habitation	rubble adobe/stone	low mesa	unknown

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BAWIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SITE SIZE
909	Tsams (West Plaza) P III - P IV	habitation	ceramics, structures	low mesa	unknown
911	P IV	habitation	10 structures	dunes, valley bottom	100 x 100 yds.
913	P V	unknown	unknown	valley bottom	unknown
914	Plaza Blanca P V	habitation(?)	adobe/stone, ceramics	valley bottom	unknown
915	Anasazi	ceramic scatter	ceramics	terrace(?)	unknown
916	P IV	habitation	60-70 room foundations	ridge	100 x 200 yds.
918	P IV	ceramic scatter	ceramics	slope/bench	unknown
919	unknown	unknown (possibly garden plots)	"pits and platforms"	uncertain	unknown
920	P IV	ceramic scatter, other(?)	ceramics	dune, bench	60 x 100 yds.
4924	Anasazi	garden plots	none	mesa top	unknown
6583	P IV	habitation	ca. 34 rooms, 3 kivas(?)	knoll	75 yds. diameter + 50 yd. diameter
6584	P IV	habitation	405 rooms	ridge	100 x 500 yds.
6585	P IV	habitation	11-15 rooms, kiva(?)	ridge	50 yds. diameter

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BASIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SITE SIZE
6587	P IV	habitation	12-15 rooms, kiva(?)	ridge	50-60 yd. diameter
6588	P IV	habitation	ca. 28 rooms	ridge	60 x 130 yds.
6589	P IV	habitation	ca. 149 rooms, 2 kivas	valley bottom	150 yds. diameter
6590	P IV	habitation	ca. 44 rooms, 2 kivas(?)	ridge	100 x 250 feet
6591	P IV (?)	habitation	ca. 54 rooms, kiva(?)	mesa top	100 x 50 yds.
6592	P IV	habitation(?)	ca. 5 rooms	ridge/alluvial fan	30 yd. diameter
6593	17th century Navajo (?)	habitation	structures	ridge	20 ft. diameter
6594	17th - 18th century Navajo (?) or Gallina (?)	habitation(?) chipping area	structures	mesa top/ridge	300 x 200 ft.
6595 (A)	17th century Spanish	habitation	structures	mesa top/ridge	200 x 250 yds.
6595 (B)	P IV	habitation	structures, ceramics	mesa top/ridge	200 x 250 yds.
6595 (C)	unknown	campsite(?)	lithics, hearths	mesa top/ridge	200 x 250 yds.
6595 (D)	17th - 18th century Navajo (?) or Gallina (?)	habitation(?)	structures	mesa top/ridge	200 x 250 yds.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA. NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BASIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SITE SIZE
6596	P IV	habitation	17 rooms	ridge	100 X 230 yds.
6597	P IV	habitation	219 rooms, 2 kivas (?)	valley bottom	50 X 100 yds.
6598	P IV	habitation	2 room blocks, other structures	bench	100 X 50 yds.
6599	P IV	habitation	350 rooms, 8 kivas (?)	dunes, valley bottom	100 X 200 yds.
6600	P IV - P V	habitation	ca. 74 rooms, 9 kivas (?)	valley bottom	200 X 300 ft.
*6603	unknown	lithic manufacturing	debitage	bench	50 X 100 yds. 100
*6604	unknown	lithic manufacturing	hammerstone, debitage	bench	50 yds. diameter
*6605	unknown	chipping station	lithics	bench	30 yds. diameter
*6606	unknown	lithic manufacturing	debitage	bluff	50 yds. diameter
6608	P IV(?)	habitation	4 room blocks, other structures	rise	200 X 100 yds. & 60 X 100 yds.
6609	P IV (?)	habitation	ca. 37 room foundations, 1 kiva (?)	rise	80 X 40 yds.

* May be part of 20218

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BASIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SITE SIZE
6610	P IV	habitation	ca. 52 rooms, 3 kivas (?)	rise, bluff	150x100 ft.
6611	P IV	habitation	62 rooms, 1 kiva (?)	tributary arroyo bottom	150 x 100 yds.
6612	unknown	lithic manufacturing	debitage	mesa top	200 x 300 yds.
6613	unknown	lithic manufacturing	debitage	mesa top/knoll	20 x 70 yds.
6614	17th - 18th century Navajo (?)	habitation	structures	mesa top/knoll	100 x 30 yds.
6615	unknown	chipping station	lithics	mesa bench/saddle	50 yds. diameter
10705	Anasazi	lithic manufacturing food processing (?) other (?)	mano, point, scrappers	dune/bench	100 x 250 m. ! !
11828	Anasazi	campsite hunting/pro- cessing	lithics	mesa top	35 x 18 m.
11829	Historic	unknown	cobble wall foundation, trash	valley bottom	50 x 50 m.
11830	P III - IV	garden plot	rock align- ment, ceram- ics	mesa top	50 x 80 m.
11831	Anasazi	garden plot	rock align- ment	mesa top	10 x 7 m.
11832	Anasazi	garden plot	cobble alignments	mesa top	20 x 20 m.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BASIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SITE SIZE
11833	Archaic(?)	campsite	lithics, hearth	slope	65 x 30 m.
11834	Archaic(?)	lithic scatter	lithics	mesa top	20 x 10 m.
11835 (A) Anasazi		multipurpose	ceramics, obsidian, hearths	mesa top, ridge cliff edge	100 x 200 m.
11835 (B) Archaic		multipurpose	lithics, hearths	mesa top, ridge cliff edge	100 x 200 m.
12303	Historic(?)	windbreak	structure, metal	mesa top	2 x 2 m.
12304	unknown	chipping station	lithics	bench	10 x 10 m.
12305	Historic(?)	unknown	masonry room foundation	valley bottom	3 x 3 m.
12306	(outlook shrine) Anasazi	shrine	unknown	bench	1.42 x 1.7 m.
12572	Archaic(?)	campsite(?)	points, lithics, hearth	bench	6 x 12 m.
18797	Plaza Larga, La Plaza 18th - 19th century Spanish	(?)	ceramics	valley bottom	unknown
20218	unknown	unknown	20-30 rock bordered "pits", lithics, sherd	mesa top/ridge	600 x 600 m.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	CULTURAL AFFILIATION	TYPE OF SITE	BASIS	TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION	SITE SIZE
20219	P III - IV	gardens	rock alignment	terrace	9 X 15 ft.
20320	P III - P IV(?)	gardens	cobble alignments	bench	40 X 60 ft.
20321	P IV - P V(?)	shrine	circular outline of basalt, lithics	bench	16 X 16 ft.
20322	Archaic (?)	campsite, food processing	hearth, mano	slope	unknown
20323	Archaic	food processing	manos, flakes, ash, charcoal	dune, mesa top	27 X 30 ft.
*806	P IV	habitation (related to Poshu LA 274?)	6 structures, 3 kivas (?), shrine	mesa top	100 X 200 yds.

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*Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu was originally assigned LA 806. During the 1962 Highway Inventory, Santa Rosa was given an additional LA number, 6602. Tree-ring data has been published for Santa Rosa under LA 6602. Also in the highway survey a P IV habitation site located near Poshu was described and this site was called LA 806. This latter description is improperly assigned to LA 806. The Laboratory of Anthropology is currently attempting to correct this problem.

Literature Search and Annotated Bibliography

Identification of published and unpublished sources was accomplished in three ways:

1. Site forms for sites identified in the course of systematic (for example, clearance) surveys referenced the applicable survey report. These reports, on file in the site survey room at the Laboratory of Anthropology, were inspected.
2. Pertinent headings (for example, Chama, Rio Arriba County) in the card catalogs at the Laboratory of Anthropology and Historical libraries were consulted.
3. Bibliographic references included in documents pertaining to the study area were checked.

Some of the documents consulted pertain to sites and surveys located outside the immediate area encompassed by this overview. Since these supply information that can be used to better evaluate the data from the project area, they have been included in the bibliography. Owing to insufficient time, first priority was given to those sources that bore directly on the project area.

Due to the number of indexed references to the study area, the shortage of time, and the time-consuming nature of archival/historical research, only a few of the available historic documents were consulted. A last minute "find" (Kessell 1979) demonstrated that there is ample material on the subject. This article should provide a starting point for any future research.

The annotated bibliography includes both examined sources and those that have not been examined because they were not locally available or because there was insufficient time. Those not examined are marked with an asterisk. In cases where others have provided information as to the content of the unexamined sources, this information is included in parentheses.

TABLE 2. DATA SOURCES FOR INVENTORIED SITES

LA NO.	YEAR(S) RECORDED	RECORDER	SKETCH DIAGRAM	EXCAVATION NOTES ON FILE AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO	HISTORIC SITES INVENTORY MATERIAL	COMMENTS
59	193_	Mera	?			excavated by Florence Hawley Ellis
60	193_	Mera	diag #?			excavated by Wendorf
252	193_ 1962	Mera Ingraham	diag #22; yes	yes		
274	193_	Mera Ingraham	diag #?; yes			excavated by Yarrow, Bandelier, and Jeancon
*275	193_	Mera	diag #33; yes		yes	! ! ! !
300	193_	Mera	diag #33	yes		excavated by Leubben
806 (6602)	193_ 1962	Mera Ingraham	diag #? yes		yes	excavated/tested by Hibben, Herb Dick, Carrillo; surface collected by Cordell; Snow may have done some work here (?)
874						tested by Steen
908	1932	Mera	diag #38		yes	excavated by Greenlee, University of New Mexico Field School
909	1932	Mera	diag #38			
911	193_ 1962	Mera Ingraham	diag #?; yes			
913	193_	Mera	diag #?			

TABLE 2. DATA SOURCES FOR INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)					COMMENTS
LA NO.	YEAR(S) RECORDED	RECORDER	SKETCH DIAGRAM	EXCAVATION NOTES ON FILE AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO	
914	193_	Mera	diag #35		
915	193_	Mera	diag #35?		
916	193_ 1962	Mera Ingraham	diag #?; yes		
918	193_	Mera	diag #?		
919	193_	Mera	diag #?		
928	193_ 1962	Mera Ingraham	diag #?; yes		
4924	19_		?		
6583	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6584	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6585	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6587	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6589	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6590	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6591	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6592	1962	Ingraham	yes		
6593	1962	Ingraham	yes		

TABLE 2. DATA SOURCES FOR INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	YEAR(S) RECORDED	RECORDER	SKETCH DIAGRAM	EXCAVATION NOTES ON FILE AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO	HISTORIC SITES INVENTORY MATERIAL	COMMENTS
6594	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6595	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6596	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6597	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6598	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6599	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6600	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6603	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6604	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6605	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6606	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6608	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6609	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6610	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6611	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6612	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6613	1962	Ingraham	yes			

TABLE 2. DATA SOURCES FOR INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	YEAR(S) RECORDED	RECORDER	SKETCH DIAGRAM	EXCAVATION NOTES ON FILE AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO	HISTORIC SITES INVENTORY MATERIAL	COMMENTS
6614	1962	Ingraham	yes			
6615	1962	Ingraham	yes			
10705	1972	DHS (Snow ?)	yes	yes		excavated by Lab of Anthropology
11020	1974	Smith	yes	yes		excavated by Lab of Anthropology
11029	1974	Enloe ?	yes			
11030	1974	Enloe	yes	yes		tested by Lab of Anthropology
11031	1974	Smith	yes	yes		tested by Lab of Anthropology
11032	1974	Enloe	yes	yes		tested by Lab of Anthropology
11033	1974	Enloe	yes			
11034	1974	Smith	yes			
11035	1974 197_	Enloe Whiteaker	yes yes	yes		excavated by Lab of Anthropology
12303	1975	Piero	yes			
12304	1975	?	no			
12305	1975	Piero	yes			

TABLE 2. DATA SOURCES FOR INVENTORIED SITES (cont'd)

LA NO.	YEAR(S) RECORDED	RECORDER	SKETCH DIAGRAM	EXCAVATION NOTES ON FILE AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO	HISTORIC SITES INVENTORY MATERIAL	COMMENTS
12306	1974	Wade	yes			
12372	1975	Wiseman	yes			
18797	1972	Boyd	no			
20218	1971	Deiter (sp.7)	yes			
20319	1979	Lang	no			
20320	1979	Lang	no			
20321	1979	Lang	no			
20322	1979	Lang	no			
20323	1979	Lang	no			

*Historic sites inventory material for both Abiquiu (LA 275) and Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu (LA 806/8602) is all filed under LA 275.

PREHISTORY OF THE LOWER CHAMA RIVER

The human use of the lower Chama River covers more than 6000 years and includes at least half a dozen cultural traditions. The prehistoric period begins in the PaleoIndian era and extends to the initial Spanish contact with the native inhabitants. The following account of the prehistory is ordered chronologically.

PaleoIndian

PaleoIndian manifestations are extremely scarce in the Chama Valley. Only one component, one Eden point, and one Meserve point have been reported from the Abiquiu Reservoir District (Klager 1980:96; Schaafsma 1976:118), which lies immediately upstream from the lower Chama study area. No sites in the overview area have been identified as PaleoIndian. There is some evidence, however, that the Chama served as a source area for lithic material during the PaleoIndian period (Lang 1979:5). It is probable that this use was sporadic and did not reflect any long-term occupation of the valley. The absence of PaleoIndian sites in the Chama and in the Santa Fe areas is apparently due to a real lack of PaleoIndian usage rather than failure of archaeologists to detect them (Snow 1975a).

Archaic

Survey and excavations in the Abiquiu Reservoir District indicate significant use of the Chama Valley by Archaic populations, especially between ca. 3000 BC and AD 500 (Schaafsma 1976; Klager 1980). The Abiquiu Reservoir assemblage includes large riverine camps as well as small to medium size sites located on slopes and terraces overlooking the Chama (Schaafsma 1976:49-50). Six Archaic components have been tentatively identified among the sites examined for the lower Chama overview. These sites are located on slopes, dunal areas, mesa tops, and in the valley bottom, suggesting exploitation of a variety of ecological zones. They also vary in size and complexity, including one excavated multipurpose site (LA 11835) used intermittently from Archaic to Pueblo III (Snow n.d.b). Although Schaafsma (1976) views the Archaic sites as the product of seasonal movement of bands operating within fixed territories centered in the Chama Valley, Snow (n.d.b) argues that Archaic sites may represent use of the Chama as a resource zone by prehistoric occupants of adjacent regions.

The small number of Archaic sites recorded in the lower Chama compared to the numerous sites documented in the Abiquiu Reservoir District may reflect advances in archaeological survey technique. Most of those sites tentatively identified as Archaic, both in the lower Chama and in the reservoir district, were recorded during intensive systematic surveys. Prior to work in the 1970s, nonceramic sites were rarely detected or reported. Since only a small portion of the lower Chama has been systematically inventoried, lithic sites are probably underrepresented in the existing survey data. Differences in survey method alone,

however, may not account for the differences in Archaic site frequency. The 1962 Highway Inventory survey through the lower Chama area (Anderson 1964) suggests that the frequency of pre-ceramic sites decreases east of Abiquiu.

In addition to those sites tentatively identified as Archaic, there are nine undiagnostic lithic sites recorded in the overview area. While some of these are probably Archaic, the assemblages from two excavated sites (LA 10705 and LA 11828) fall within the range of stone morphology reported for Pueblo sites (Whiteaker 1976a, 1976b).

Basketmaker III - Pueblo I

Projectile points characteristic of the Basketmaker III and Pueblo I periods occur on small lithic sites in the Abiquiu Reservoir District. The absence of associated structures and ceramics indicates that the Chama was used primarily for hunting by people who lived elsewhere during this period (Schaafsma 1976:64, Klager 1980:99). Based on similarities in projectile point form, Schaafsma (1976:64) suggests that the home base for these early Anasazi hunters was the Rosa Phase settlement around Dulce, New Mexico. This may explain the absence of permanent BM III - P I material in the lower Chama Valley.

No sites from this time period have been recorded in the project area, though an unrecorded site consisting of 2 or 3 pithouse depressions, 15 to 20 hearths, and high concentrations of lithics and ceramics (Powell 1977:2) could conceivably be BM III - P I.

Pueblo II - mid Pueblo III

Evidence for Pueblo II and III sites in the study area is ambiguous. Linda Cordell (1979:51) places Anasazi occupation of the Chama district at about AD 1200 and Florence Hawley Ellis (1975:22) alludes to early Tewa sites (AD 1100 - 1300) excavated in the Ghost Ranch area. The AD 1200 date suggested by Cordell (1979:53) may be based on a tree-ring date of AD 1250 for Tsiping, a ruin located on Cañones Creek. It is not clear where she obtained this date, but tree-ring data for Tsiping appearing in Robinson and Warren (1971:18) indicates construction activity in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The AD 1200 placement may be based on the presence of Santa Fe B/W sherds occurring at some of the excavated sites from the succeeding period (cf. Hibben 1947; Leubben 1953; Wendorf 1953). The available data, however, including the small percentage of Santa Fe B/W, is more consistent with an initial occupation of the overview area around the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

Late Pueblo III - Pueblo IV

The reasons for Anasazi movement into the lower Chama Valley in the late 1200s have received little attention in the literature. It is likely, however, that the initial occupation, as well as subsequent population increase, was related to the abandonment of the San Juan Basin and the Gallina area (cf. Leubben 1951; Lang 1979).

The ceramic assemblages at the earliest sites dating from the late Pueblo III - Pueblo IV period are dominated by Wiyo B/W. In addition to Tsiping, the other Wiyo Phase sites recorded for the Abiquiu Reservoir District are Palisade Ruin (Klager 1980; Peckham 1959) and Riana Ruin (Hibben 1937). These have been dated at AD 1312-1314 and AD 1335 respectively (Robinson and Warren 1971:32,34). Riana contains roughly 25 ground floor rooms and Palisade 50 ground floor rooms (Klager 1980:92). Each appears to have been built as a unit. Aside from occasional isolated sherds, including some Santa Fe B/W (Schaafsma 1976:172), these 3 sites represent the only conclusive evidence of Wiyo Phase occupation in the reservoir district.

In the lower Chama Valley overview area four components have been identified as Wiyo Phase Sites. One of these is represented by garden plots and is discussed below. The other three include the large excavated sites of Leaf Water (Leubben 1951, 1953), Te'ewi (Wendorf 1953) and the west plaza at Tsama (Greenlee 1930). Although tree-ring dates for Te'ewi place the major occupation between AD 1400 and 1500 (Robinson and Warren 1974:26), the presence of Wiyo B/W and Santa Fe B/W beneath some of the floors suggests that portions of the site were occupied in the 1300s (Wendorf 1953:36). All three of the sites are situated on elevated terrain above the valley floor. Room count estimates are not available for the west plaza at Tsama or the Wiyo Phase at Te'ewi, but Leaf Water may exceed 100 ground floor rooms (Leubben 1953:figure 2). These Wiyo Phase sites are of variable construction. Riana is built of sandstone and lava boulders (Hibben 1937:22) while Palisade and Leaf Water are predominantly adobe (Klager 1980:91; Leubben 1953:11). Neither Riana nor Leaf Water appear to have been occupied for an extended period of time (Hibben 1937:32; Leubben 1951:99).

Between ca. AD 1350 and 1400, the number of sites recorded for the lower Chama Valley increases radically, while the Abiquiu Reservoir District is virtually abandoned (Schaafsma 1976; Klager 1980). This increase may be due to aggregation of small groups, previously living in adjacent areas, especially in the high upland country bordering the Chama Valley (Wendorf 1953:94). The multiple plazas at some of the large Biscuitware sites dating to this period, as well as the evidence from Te'ewi (Wendorf 1953) and the east plaza at Tsama (Greenlee 1930) that rows of rooms were subsequently added to the original roomblock, suggest that this process of aggregation continued for some time. A detailed summary of the characteristics of these large Biscuitware sites as well as the smaller Wiyo sites is provided by Cordell (1979: 51-53).

Twenty-nine of the components examined for this overview have been classified as Biscuitware habitation units. These range in size from sites consisting of ca. 5 rooms to sites such as Poshu containing more than 1,000 rooms (Jeancon 1923:plate 1). Although some of these sites are located in the valley bottom, most are situated in elevated terrain.

Many of these sites were recorded during the 1962 Highway Inventory. It is possible, therefore, that the size of some of these units has been exaggerated or that they do not really represent habitation units at all (see Evaluation of Resources section).

Bordered garden plots/stone grids occur frequently in the Chama Valley and have often been mistaken for room foundations. These garden plots are generally specified by rectangular areas, often bordered by cobbles, sometimes raised, sometimes filled with a gravel mulch. They can occur singly or they may be joined to form grid systems of up to 2,000 units such as LA 4924 (cf. Hibben 1937; Tjaden 1979; Fiero n.d.). Tjaden (1979) argues that these plots were ideally suited for dry farming, especially during a period that appears to have been characterized by a winter dominant rainfall pattern. Unfortunately, the frequent lack of associated artifacts makes dating of specific garden plots difficult, but they occur from the Wiyo Phase on into the historic period.

Small field houses have been recorded adjacent to some garden plots along the Chama and its tributaries (Tjaden 1979; Fiero n.d.). These sites, garden plots with associated field houses, have slightly higher frequencies of artifacts than do garden plots alone (Tjaden 1979:30).

Skinner (1965) located twenty-four 1-or 2-room field houses in a roughly one square mile area east of Sapawe, which lies approximately 8 miles north of the Chama. Associated sherds were largely Biscuitwares. Although some of Skinner's field houses may in fact be garden plots (Fiero n.d.), it is doubtful that they have all been misclassified. Field houses should also be expected to occur in the area encompassed by the lower Chama overview. Yet other than the one recorded by Fiero (n.d.), none have been reported.

Other Anasazi special function/limited use sites no doubt also exist in the overview area and have been overlooked by previous surveys. At present, documentation of this class of sites consists of 3 predominantly lithic sites (Whiteaker 1976a, b; Snow n.d.b), 3 ceramic scatters, 2 shrines, and a "shrine area," the latter with no LA number. Possible shrines have also been reported at Poshu (Jeancon 1923) and Te'ewi (Wendorf 1953). Anasazi rock art is totally missing from the inventory, though Jeancon (1923:plate 63) includes photos of pictographs in his report on Poshu.

Two sites with possible "torreons," suggesting a Gallina affiliation, were recorded in the overview area during the 1962 Highway Inventory Survey. Hibben (1937:figure 1) located torreons at the confluence of the Gallina and the Chama and on Arroyo Seco above the Chama, but none were found in the lower Chama Valley. Because no Gallina sites were reported for the Abiquiu Reservoir District, it seems likely that the Gallina did not penetrate that far into the Chama Valley.

All of the large Biscuitware sites in the lower Chama Valley, with the exception of San Juan and Yunqueyunque at the confluence of the Chama and the Rio Grande, appear to have been abandoned by the beginning of the seventeenth century (cf. Mera 1934:figure 3). Whether this exodus occurred before or after initial Spanish contact in the area is not clear. A clasp from an old Spanish book was found in one of the rooms at Tsama (Ellis 1975:20) and tree ring dates suggest that Te'ewi may have been occupied up to, if not after, the Spanish entrada (Robinson and Warren 1971:27). Though the arrival of the Spanish could have provided either direct or indirect impetus for the move, it is also at this time that Navajos probably begin to make their appearance in the Chama Valley.

HISTORY OF THE LOWER RIO CHAMA

The historic overview is organized in terms of the cultural affiliation of the various groups known to have used or occupied the Chama Valley during the protohistoric and historic periods. The sequence in which the data are presented roughly parallels the order of each group's arrival in the Chama Valley. The obvious exception to this ordering is the historic Pueblo. This group is discussed last.

Material postdating 1900 has been omitted, but we feel that the bulk of the significant cultural and historical resources predate the twentieth century.

Spanish

The early Spanish entradas may have had some impact on the Chama Valley, since both the 1540 Coronado Expedition and the 1590 Castano de Sosa Expedition appear to have crossed the Chama near its confluence with the Rio Grande (Cordell 1974:114). Spanish soldiers visited San Juan Pueblo and Yunqueyunque in 1541. The first Spanish settlement, however, was the colony at San Juan Pueblo, established by Oñate in 1598. Within two years the colony was moved across the river to San Gabriel de Yunque (Schroeder 1953:5,6). As the name implies, the mission of San Gabriel was established at the pueblo of Yunqueyunque, whose inhabitants had joined their neighbors at San Juan. Spanish occupation of San Gabriel was brief and in 1610 the population moved south to found the villa of Santa Fe (Simmons 1969:9,10).

Some colonists probably remained in the area, since the encomienda system, which depended on Indian labor, fostered settlement around the pueblos (Simmons 1969:11). Gillio (1979:8), in speaking of the period from 1598 to 1680, mentions "isolated ranches and haciendas in nearly all of the valleys of the Rio Grande and Chama river(s)." These were abandoned when the pueblos revolted in 1680.

The immediate effect of the Pueblo Revolt was the total withdrawal of Spanish colonists from northern New Mexico. Despite abortive attempts at reconquest during the next two years, the Spaniards were obliged to vacate all of New Mexico north of El Paso. They were not to return until 1692 when Diego de Vargas reconquered the province. Settlers then again moved into the Chama Valley. Sometime between 1715 and 1730, these settlers petitioned for land near San Gabriel and westward along both banks of the Chama. These grants form the basis of the present day towns of Chamita, Wache, Hernandez, and Chili (Swadesh 1974:32; Weigle 1975:168). Land at La Cuchilla (probably the present community of La Chuachia) may also have been granted during this period (Swadesh 1974:33).

Beginning in the 1730s, additional grants were allotted, including one in 1734 that established the settlement of Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu (Rodriguez et al. 1976:113; Carrillo 1978:3). In 1735 a grant was made at the present location of Barranco (Swadesh 1974:33).

Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu was located roughly 2 miles downstream from the current town of Abiquiu (Swadesh 1974; Weigle 1975:154). Raids by Utes and Comanches forced abandonment of Santa Rosa in the late 1740s. When the area was resettled in 1750, 13 Genizaros were assigned to a residence already in existence at the present site of Abiquiu (Swadesh 1974:58). The Genizaro population included both detribalized nomadic Indians and Pueblo Indians who had been evicted from the pueblos for assuming Spanish customs (Swadesh 1974: xviii).

In 1754 a Genizaro pueblo land grant was established and the Franciscan mission of Santo Tomas de Abiquiu was constructed (Swadesh 1974:39; New Mexico State Planning Office 1967:22). Although Santa Rosa de Abiquiu apparently continued to be occupied until early in the 1900s (Carrillo 1978:3), Santo Tomas de Abiquiu became the "mother" community for the lower Chama Valley. By 1760 the population of Santo Tomas de Abiquiu was reported to consist of 166 Genizaros and 617 Spaniards (New Mexico State Planning Office 1967:22).

Population growth in the Chama Valley was marked in the late 1700s and early 1800s. This period of growth coincided with a cessation of hostilities between the colonists and the Indians. Available agricultural and grazing land was limited and settlers began to petition for land grants in the upper Chama drainage. By 1821 population in the Abiquiu area had risen to 246 "Indians" and 3,029 Spaniards (Swadesh 1974:46-69).

In this same year Mexico, which encompassed the province of New Mexico, became a republic. During the first decade of Mexican control, the Old Spanish Trail linking Santa Fe and California was established. Traders and trappers gathered at Abiquiu to outfit themselves for the journey north and west (Swadesh 1974:60; Kessell 1979:266).

Following United States acquisition of New Mexico and Arizona in 1845-46, Abiquiu served as a military outpost and Indian agency. Nevertheless, there was an outward movement of population from the lower Chama Valley. Swadesh (1974: 67) attributes this movement principally to land loss and the desire to escape domination under a new and somewhat oppressive government. It seems likely, however, that some

of this movement simply represented a continuation of expansionist trends begun in the early 1800s.

Mining interests and construction of the Colorado to Española spur of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in 1880 (the "Chili Line") also played a role in population movements in and out of the Chama Valley during this period. A toll road north to the San Juan mining district was chartered in 1861 and miners crowded into Abiquiu (Kessell 1979:273). The area around Abiquiu itself was also mined for gold, copper, and uranium (Cordell 1979:125; Gillio 1979:33).

The Court of Private Land Claims was instituted in 1891 to arbitrate the claims of Spanish Americans to ancestral lands guaranteed them under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. When the court disbanded in 1904, however, many claimants had lost their tracts to large and powerful land owners. The Chama Valley settlers were no exception; the court denied recognition of a number of Chama Valley grants in favor of the Juan Jose Lobato claim. Additional land was appropriated in 1905 for the National Forests (Swadesh 1974:70).

Documented Hispanic sites in the Abiquiu Reservoir District are few. The evidence for Spanish entry prior to 1800 consists of 2 petroglyph panels, one bearing a date of 1758. The majority of the Spanish sites, however, belong to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: five homesteads concentrated in the Rio Puerco and two downstream about 4 miles. The cluster of 5 appears to be an Hispanic community, but the other 2, which are more isolated, apparently are farmsteads belonging to a freed Navajo slave (Schaafsma 1976: 110-115). The sites are probably at least partially contemporaneous.

In the lower Chama area such small sites are missing from the inventory. In fact, the only Spanish sites recorded are Plaza Larga, San Gabriel, Abiquiu, and Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu, all large and well documented early Spanish settlements, and LA 6595, a 6-or7-room site, possibly dating to the 1600s. Three other historic sites have been recorded in the lower Chama, but they are unassociated with diagnostic artifacts, and thus, their cultural affiliation is ambiguous.

Because small puebloan sites and early Spanish sites have similar architectural styles and similar artifact assemblages (Gillio 1979:11), discrimination between them during surveys may be difficult. Some sites in the study area classed as puebloan might, in fact, be Spanish.

Navajo

A series of sites from the Abiquiu Reservoir District, believed to represent Navajo habitations, have been dated by archaeomagnetic methods to the period 1640 to 1710 (Schaafsma 1980:31). These dated sites represent the earliest documented occurrence of possible Navajo occupation in the Chama Valley, but they are only a few of the 37 Navajo or presumably Navajo sites recorded for the reservoir and thus may not encompass the entire period of occupation (Schaafsma 1976; Klager 1980). In addition to the habitation units, Navajo sites found in the reservoir area include rockshelters, possible lambing pens, wall remnants with associated lithics or ceramics, isolated projectile points, and isolated sherd scatters, sometimes accompanied by hearths. Almost all of the Navajo sites are located above the valley floor, at the edge of the second and third terraces. (Schaafsma 1975, 1976).

Habitation sites may be represented by single units, multiple units, or integrated villages called "rancherias" (Schaafsma 1976). Evidence from the Cerrito Site, an excavated seventeenth century rancheria indicates contemporaneous occupation by 5 or 6 family units (Schaafsma 1975). During this period, Navajos appear to have relied heavily on sheep husbandry, marginal agriculture, and trade with the Rio Grande pueblos (Klager 1980:102). That similar rancherias also existed in the area of Abiquiu is suggested by a special order issued in 1709 authorizing a military campaign against Navajos who were harassing settlements in the Rio Grande Valley. Abiquiu is singled out as one of the "said enemies' dwellings" (Schaafsma 1976:195).

How long after 1710 the Navajo continued to occupy the lower Chama is uncertain, but they appear to have withdrawn from the area by the time Santa Rosa de Abiquiu was established in the 1730s. Ute and Comanche activity in the area during the early to mid 1700s appears to have kept the Navajos confined to the territory west of the Chama Valley. Navajo raids in the Abiquiu area are reported, however, for the 1780s and again in the early 1800s (Schroeder 1973:61,64).

When New Mexico became a United States territory, an Indian agency was established at Abiquiu (New Mexico State Planning Office 1967:23). Although this agency was not intended to serve the Navajos, a group of Navajos was reported among the Indians at the agency in 1856 (Schroeder 1965:69). In the 1860s and 1870s, during and following the period of Navajo internment at Bosque Redondo, the number of Navajo captives in Hispanic households of the Chama drainage rose dramatically (Schroeder 1974:65). This period also appears to mark the end of Navajo incursion into the lower Chama Valley.

Sites generated by Navajo raiding would presumably reflect the transient nature of their activities in the valley, and would most likely be located up river from the Abiquiu area. The visit of the Navajos to the Abiquiu agency in 1856 may also have left some physical remains, though it is not clear how long the visiting Navajos remained there.

The four possible Navajo components included in the overview inventory have been tentatively identified as belonging to the seventeenth and early eighteenth century Navajo occupation of the valley. Schaafsma (1980:33) has suggested that the ancestral Navajo initially settled around Tewa villages in the Rio Grande Valley. If so, they probably moved up the Chama from the Rio Grande and thus Navajo sites both earlier than, and contemporaneous with, the sites of the reservoir district should occur in the lower Chama area.

Utes and their Allies

The two major Ute bands known to have been in the Chama region during the Historic period were the Capote and the Moache. Also present in the valley at various times were the Sabuagana (Chaguagua, Taguaganas), Weminuche, and Tabeguache (cf. Schroeder 1965; Swadesh 1974).

Shortly before 1598 a group of Indians, which appear to have been Capote Utes, traveled via the Rio Chama from Jemez Pueblo to their home beyond the San Juan River (Schroeder 1965:54). The most direct route from Jemez would bring the Utes into the Chama Valley upstream from the overview area, but it is possible that similar excursions, presumably for trade, were undertaken to the Rio Grande Pueblos as well. Aside from this early reference, there appears to be no documentation of Ute presence in the vicinity of the Chama Valley prior to the late 1600s.

During the period of the Pueblo Revolt (1680-1692), Moache Utes gathered in bands of sufficient size to attack the northern Pueblos (Schroeder 1965:56). An alliance with the Comanche around 1700 provided additional strength, and combined Moache Ute and Comanche raids into the Chama-Rio Grande area increased (Schroeder 1965:58). As noted previously, the settlement of Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiu was attacked in 1747 and again in the early 1750s, forcing the settlers to withdraw. During this period Utes could proceed at will through the settlements in the lower Chama (Schroeder 1965:59). It is about this time that the Ute-Comanche alliance apparently fell apart. Peace was restored by 1754 (Schroeder 1965:59,60). According to Schroeder (1965:59,60) the Utes took up residence in camps "above Abiquiu on the Chama River." It is not clear which band Schroeder is referring to or how long they resided on the river.

Prior to 1762 Capote and Sabuagana Utes had begun making trips to the Chama Valley to trade (Swadesh 1974:47). In 1776 a trade fair was held for the Utes in Abiquiu, and trade relations between the Spanish settlers and the Utes continued despite a 1778 edict prohibiting such relations (Schroeder 1965:61; Swadesh 1974). Peace lasted into the early 1840s.

In 1844 Utes killed 3 men in the settlement of Tierra Azul, downstream from Abiquiu, before fleeing to their encampment on the Vega de Riano near the confluence of Cañones Creek and the Rio Chama (Swadesh 1974:62). Capote Utes raided livestock near Abiquiu in 1852 (Schroeder 1965:65). Surprisingly, trading relations between the Spanish settlers and the Utes appear to have remained unaffected by the general hostilities (Swadesh 1974:63).

The location of Ute camps during this period is unclear. By 1850 Capote Utes were said to be living a "few miles" northeast of Abiquiu. Shortly after 1850, however, an agent is said to have visited Ute country located about 60 miles north of Abiquiu (Schroeder 1965:64,65).

About 1855 Moache and Capote Utes concluded a treaty with the United States government. At this time some of the Jicarilla Apaches, one time allies of the Moache Ute, were settled on land 10 miles west of Abiquiu. In 1858, however, they were moved back to the east side of the Rio Grande, though many continued to visit the agency at Abiquiu throughout the following decade (Schroeder 1965:68,69).

In 1869 the Capote Utes occupied the area from Abiquiu north to the Navajo River, living most of the time at Tierra Amarilla (Schroeder 1965:72,73). Both Moache and Capote Utes apparently moved to a reservation on the San Juan River in 1874.

Ute sites in the Chama River Valley have been reported by Hibben (1937) and Schaafsma (1976). Aged informants in the area identified Hibben's circular pole lodges as Ute. The base of these structures had been reinforced by boulders and large sandstone slabs, and these rock outlines have often been identified as tipi rings (Hibben 1937:13,14). According to Hibben (1937:13) these lodges are situated in rough country away from the river. The tipi rings found in the Abiquiu Reservoir District, however, show no effort at concealment and are generally located on the first and second terraces above the valley bottom. No ceramics were found in association with the tipi rings in the reservoir district. Nor were there other artifacts that might date the sites to the period of Ute occupation. Sites reported by Schaafsma include from 1 to 20 tipi rings and appear to occur in 2 clusters, suggesting 2 major social divisions. Ethnohistoric

accounts indicate the possibility of rancherias of up to 100 structures (Schroeder 1965:59).

The physical similarities among Ute, Comanche, Apache, and even Navajo sites make it extremely difficult to identify the specific cultural identity of the occupants of these historic components. The presence of features relating to sheep husbandry help in segregating Navajo sites. Schaafsma (1976:108,109) has also suggested the possibility of differential use of lithic material types, as sites tentatively classified as Ute tend to contain more obsidian than Navajo sites. Chert appears to be the preferred lithic material among the Navajos.

No sites identified as Ute, Apache, or Comanche have been recorded for the overview area. This absence is clearly due to inadequate survey procedures.

Anglos

The first evidence of Anglos in the Chama Valley occurs in the 1820s when the opening of the Old Spanish Trail drew trappers and traders to the area. At least one of the trading posts established during this period appears to have been operated by an Anglo (Kessell 1979:266).

In 1846 Abiquiu became the point of departure for United States military expeditions into Ute and Navajo country; troops marched in and out of the settlement. A permanent post was constructed about 1851 but was apparently abandoned by 1855. Nevertheless, troops continued to use Abiquiu as a base of operations.

The Indian agency operated at Abiquiu was staffed, for most of its history, by Anglos. The agency continued in operation until at least 1872 (Rodriguez et al. 1976:129-135).

Many of the miners reported to be in Abiquiu after the opening of the toll road in 1860 were certainly Anglo. In 1897 a Henry Grant was listed as postmaster and the Grant Brothers owned the only general store (Kessell 1979:274). Anglos, in general, are in evidence in Abiquiu when the town is economically important and absent when its economic role diminishes. But Anglo impact on the lower Chama Valley through the early 1900s was largely indirect, the result of political and economic changes that followed the 1845-46 acquisition of New Mexico by the United States. Even in the 1970s there were no Anglo families reported living at either Chamita or Barranco, though 10 Anglo families were living on farms near Abiquiu (Weigle 1975).

Modern Pueblos

As previously indicated, the pueblo of Yunqueyunque was turned over to the Spanish at the time San Gabriel was founded. This left San Juan as the only major pueblo settlement in the vicinity of the Chama River. Occupants of smaller sites in the area may also have retreated to San Juan, as it was the Spanish policy to encourage pueblo consolidation. This consolidation facilitated supervision of Indian labor under the encomienda system and concentrated strength for defense against nomadic tribes. Pueblos were distributed in encomienda to leading Spanish colonists, who could then exact tribute and labor (Simmons 1969:7;15; Gillio 1979:9).

The hardships imposed by the encomienda system and the efforts of the Catholic clergy to eradicate the native religion culminated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Simmons 1979:11; Gillio 1979:89; Swadesh 1974:13). The apparent "leader" of the revolt, Pope, was from San Juan Pueblo.

During the period 1680 to 1696, pueblo residents moved to isolated and defensible locations to escape from Spanish attempts to reestablish control (Swadesh 1974:15; Gillio 1979:14). Some of the population also sought refuge with the Navajos. It is likely that the absence of the Spanish encouraged intensified raiding of the pueblos on the part of nomadic tribes. We have no indication of population movement out of San Juan at this time, but the possibility exists and should be reflected in the archaeological record.

In 1689, as part of the effort to regain authority in New Mexico, San Juan Pueblo was allotted land by the Spanish Crown. Pueblo Indian grants, such as this, established the rights of the Indians to the territory surrounding their pueblos.

The inhabitants of San Juan appear to have had little involvement with the Chama Valley settlers during the ensuing hundred years, perhaps because the Spanish neglected their relationships with the Pueblo Indians in favor of their contacts with the Utes (Swadesh 1966:14). It is likely, however, that the pueblo occupants continued to use the Chama Valley and its environs as a resource base as they do today.

Tsikomo ("obsidian covered mountain"), that is, Polvadera Peak, located 15 miles west of the pueblo, represents the western boundary of the San Juan "world" (Ortiz 1969:19). Sacred reference points, such as Tsikomo, however, do not limit the territory that may be exploited. Wood for fuel and construction, clay, plants, game, and lithic materials are all secured from a wide area, as are various elements of ceremonial paraphernalia (Friedlander 1980:32). Shrines may be built at any place considered sacred.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States government's successful campaign against nomadic tribes assured the safety of pueblo farmers and their families who chose to reside near more distant fields (Simmons 1969:19). The establishment of the colony of Pueblito, across the river from San Juan, reflects this process of dispersal.

HISPANIC SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF THE LOWER RIO CHAMA

The original Spanish colonists along the Rio Chama lived in small dispersed settlements, variously referred to as ranchos, polaciones, placitas, and plazas. The people residing in these settlements were organized in extended family units ranging in size from 6 to 20 households (Swadesh 1974; Simmons 1969).

The dispersed settlement pattern was a function of the requirements of 1) a pastoral/agricultural subsistence base that was constrained by the narrow valley of the Chama, 2) the land inheritance system, and 3) the alternating hostile and peaceful relationships with the Utes.

Land grants were generally made in the form of narrow strips extending inland from the river's edge. The tools available at the time allowed only for farming of the bottomlands, thus limiting the acreage that could be placed under cultivation. Land was inherited by both male and female offspring and generational growth resulted in the sectioning of the original grants into even narrower strips. Eventually the land could no longer support the growing extended family so younger members petitioned for land farther upstream (Swadesh 1974).

This scattered homestead pattern made defense difficult and the colonial authorities continued to urge the colonists to congregate in large fortified plazas. This would have placed the settlers at some distance from their fields, however, a situation that was apparently unworkable, especially since the men spent most of the year herding and hunting. Contrary to the opinions of the authorities, enclosed plazas provided no real defense. The fortifications were easily breached, endangering the flocks of the entire community. If an isolated farmstead were raided, only a few sheep were likely to be stolen, and an individual's extended kin would be able to compensate him for his loss. This system minimized the effects of Indian raiding for the entire community. (Simmons 1969; Swadesh 1974).

Dispersion also made it difficult for the Spanish authorities to maintain close supervision and to enforce obedience to the Indian trade regulations. This was particularly important during the period of illicit trading with the Utes. (Swadesh 1974).

The dispersed pattern of occupation persisted in the Chama Valley until the twentieth century. Swadesh (1974:138) believes that the current concentration of population into communities is the result of land loss engendered by the handling of the land grant claims. One of the consequences of the loss of ancestral lands was a greater dependence on wage labor. The modern village pattern is probably a consequence of these and other social and economic factors.

The basic forms of social organization have changed little since colonial times. The extended family was central to both the internal organization of the colonial settlements and to inter-settlement relationships. Throughout most of the Spanish colonial period there were few formal institutions of social control. Final authority within each rancho or placita rested in the hands of the elders, or tatas (Swadesh 1974). Since residents of many of the ranchos were linked by either marriage or blood, the kin based hierarchy could be extended to encompass a series of settlements.

Disputes between families that arose over water rights were arbitrated by the mayordomo de acequia, or ditch boss, who also supervised construction and maintenance of the ditches. Each community apparently elected its own mayordomo. Together these mayordomos insured equitable distribution of the irrigation water (Swadesh 1974).

A second focus of community activity was the Church. Though there was no priest regularly assigned to the Chama Valley, some of the settlers built chapels. The first resident priest was apparently the one assigned to Santo Tomas de Abiquiu. Whether there was a lay brotherhood, cofradia, associated with this church is not clear. The cofradia, however, apparently served as the model from which the Penitente brotherhood evolved in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Gonzales 1969; Simmons 1969; Swadesh 1974).

The development of the Penitentes at this time reflects the scarcity of priests and the neglect of the Church. In 1827, for example, there were only 17 priests in all of New Mexico. The Penitentes assumed the duties of the Church, especially the care of the sick, the incapacitated, and the bereaved. There are still two Penitente moradas standing in Abiquiu today (Gonzales 1969; Swadesh 1974; Kessell 1979).

During the Colonial and Mexican periods there was little class differentiation in the lower Chama Valley. Even the Genizaros seem to have been successfully assimilated into the general populace. Three factors appear to have contributed to this basically egalitarian pattern: the opening of new lands, the opportunity to supplement the subsistence base by trading with the Utes, and the recurrent possibility of losing wealth due to raiding (Swadesh 1974).

Initial class differentiation may have begun with the opening of the Old Spanish Trail. This provided opportunities for amassing wealth based on legal, as opposed to illicit, trade. After the United States assumed control of the territory, the concentration of land in the hands of a few further increased the power of the ricos or patrons. Those who had lost their

grants began to work for those who now claimed title to the land or they began to engage in wage labor. Continuing dependence on wage labor appears to be more pronounced among those on the west side of the Rio Grande than among those on the east side (Gonzales 1969; Swadesh 1974; Weigle 1975).

Hispanic residents of northern New Mexico responded to the effects of United States territorial government by relying even more heavily on the ditch associations and the Penitente brotherhood. These institutions, along with the extended family, still play a major role in small northern New Mexican communities today.

EVALUATION OF RESOURCES

Site Records

The quality of the survey records is extremely variable. Information for the sites recorded in the early to mid 1900s often consists of no more than a locational reference and a list of pottery types. No site maps are attached to these early forms, but in many cases "Mera Diagrams" are available. These diagrams are site plans drawn by Mera and filed at the Laboratory of Anthropology. Also on file are "Mera Maps." Mera's maps are hand drawn facsimilies of the USGS maps available at the time, with site locations plotted on them. These locations have been transferred to the USGS maps currently in use at the Lab. Both diagrams and maps are referenced by number and these numbers generally occur somewhere on the second line of the form. Some of the sites probably have Mera diagrams, but when no number was listed on the site card, it could not be listed in table 2.

The descriptions for sites recorded or rerecorded during the 1962 Highway Inventory Survey (i.e., sites in the LA 6000 series recorded in tables 1 and 2) are relatively detailed, however, the accuracy of those descriptions are questionable (Stewart Peckham, personal communication). The locations of the Highway Inventory sites were originally recorded on Highway Department quad maps, which are smaller in scale than the corresponding topo maps. Locations as they appear on the topographic maps, therefore, are only approximations. The Highway Inventory procedures included "comprehensive" collection of artifacts. A list of these collections is appended to each site form.

Data for sites reported after 1962, with one exception, have been recorded on the Museum of New Mexico Archaeological Survey Form. Because these are basically checklist forms, there is a lack of narrative data regarding these sites.

Descriptions on site forms for LA 20319 through LA 20323 would not copy clearly. We have therefore appended the site descriptions given in Lang's 1979 report. There are no site maps for these sites, either in the site files or in the report.

Due to an oversight, the site card that presumably exists for LA 874 (San Juan Pueblo) was not copied.

There are problems with 4 other sites occurring on the Lab maps for the study area. LA 10, which appears in the overview area, is recorded as being in another county, so the site number on the map is obviously incorrect. There is probably a site at that location, however. Three "sites" noted on the topo maps do not have LA numbers. One of these is simply marked "shrine area" (San Juan Pueblo Quad). A P IV

site consisting of "thousands of sherds and chalcedony" is shown immediately south of the river on the Abiquiu Quad. The third site is one mentioned and located by Powell (1977) but never formally recorded (see Chili Quad.)

Historic site inventory data for Abiquiu and San Juan Pueblo consist of relevant excerpts from archival and secondary sources. Sources referenced in these inventories should be used to supplement the bibliography provided in this report.

Documentary Resources

Most of the literature dealing with prehistoric resources in the lower Chama study area predate the mid 1950s. Data presented in these reports generally provide an insufficient basis for examining problems of current interest to archaeologists, though they do furnish a starting point for generating hypotheses. Information regarding intersite variability, at least at the level of site size and possibly complexity might be obtained through a systematic inspection of Mera's diagrams. Tables and descriptions in Leubben, especially his thesis (1951), and in Wendorf (1953) should also allow for some assessment of both intersite and intrasite variability.

The Highway Inventory Report (Alexander 1964) and the clearance survey reports (e.g., Enloe et al. 1974; Powell 1977; Lang 1979) do little more than reiterate the data provided on the site forms.

The most promising sources are those written and being written by the Laboratory of Anthropology staff in conjunction with the Ojo Project (e.g., Whiteaker 1976b; Fiero n.d.; Snow n.d.a. and b). The final Ojo Project report will deal with material from a series of tested sites in the Chama Valley. These sites were originally recorded by Enloe et al. (1974) during the San Juan-to-Ojo transmission line survey. The complete Ojo manuscript should be ready for publication late in 1980 (David Snow, personal communication). Although this report will deal with only lithic sites and garden plots, the analyses are directed toward questions of economic behavior and resource acquisition strategies.

Virtually all of the literature on the historic period that was examined for this overview consisted of secondary sources, many of which relied heavily on archival material. Without formal historical training, it is difficult to evaluate adequately either the secondary sources or the primary material on which they are based. As indicated by the numerous citations, however, Swadesh (1974) proved invaluable in sorting out the complex history of the Chama Valley, at least through the mid 1800s. Simmons' (1969) paper on settlement patterns, though not specifically focused on the Chama Valley, was both impressive and relevant to archaeological concerns. It might be useful to explore other work he has done.

Knowledge of Anglo involvement in the Chama area is scanty. It is not clear whether this lack of information is a function of incomplete researching on our part or a real gap in the literature. The same applies to the lack of historical, as opposed to ethnographic, literature on the Tewa. In both instances it may be necessary to examine primary sources. Unfortunately, some of the archival materials relating to the Spanish Colonial period appear to be in Mexico City or in Spain.

A number of specific problems were encountered in dealing with the historical data. First, different authors sometimes presented conflicting information. Second, some villages appearing on the USGS maps were never mentioned while others (e.g., Tierra Azul, La Puente) that were referenced in the literature do not appear on the maps. Third, place names may be spelled in a variety of ways (e.g., Barranco/Barranca), leading to confusion in pursuing references. Fourth, place names were duplicated as the settlers expanded north along the river (e.g., the present town of Chamita was originally called Chama, but the name was changed when the present town of Chama was founded up river in the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant).

Many of the more general sources referenced in Kessell (1979) are not included in our bibliography. These should be consulted, however, in any future research.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

The prehistoric records for the study area have been thoroughly reviewed in the course of preparing this overview. Additional work, at least for the Archaic period, might best be devoted to more intensive survey, to study of intra- and intersite variability, and to definition of site locational patterns both within the river valleys and in the surrounding uplands. Currently, knowledge of the Archaic, as well as other cultural groups, is hampered by the orientation of past survey projects toward the river valley and its immediate environs.

The origins of the Pueblo tradition in the lower Chama are poorly defined. In order to fill out the culture history of the local pueblos, further archaeological work could seek better definitions of the founding dates of the Chama pueblos, the sources of the colonizing groups, the processes of population growth within and between settlements, and the causes of pueblo abandonment. Additional areas of inquiry for the pueblos might include the socioeconomic impetus for movements through the valley, environmental consequences of agricultural activity along the Chama, social organizational variability through time among contemporaneous sites, and trade relations with Navajos, Utes, Spaniards, and Anglos.

When one considers the richness of the history of the lower Chama area and the wealth of historical documentation, it is clear that any work that would impact historic sites should be accompanied by in-depth archival and historical research. Given the problems of unfamiliarity that we, as anthropologists, faced in researching historic records, we recommend that further background study be conducted by an historical researcher who would both locate and evaluate historical materials, resolving conflicting accounts and discarding unreliable sources.

Beyond the background research, archaeological work at historic sites should directly involve the ethnohistorian to ensure maximum and pertinent data extraction. A combined ethnohistorical and archaeological approach would also permit mutual evaluation of historic and archaeological inferences.

Although the Navajo presence in the Chama has been referenced in historical documents, the best sources for early Navajo remain excavation data. This probably holds true, perhaps to a lesser degree, for the Ute as well. In particular, references to different bands and to changing warfare/trade relations with Spanish colonists, and concomitant organizational changes, might be more clearly defined in the archaeological record than in documentary materials. Dates of first usage of the area and other cultural historical questions are clearly archaeological problems.

Hispanic activity in the lower Rio Chama has a 100 year history. Among the topics that might warrant further study are the relationships among social hierarchies, status, and access to trade items, land, and other sources of wealth through time; operation and persistence of the kin based organizational system under different governmental and religious systems; shifts in economic and political power centers within and beyond the communities; and changes in subsistence and settlement patterns, particularly within the framework of a national economic network. In the later periods, post 1845, most of these topics will have to address the influence of such Anglo introductions as railroads, mining, and state and federal governments. Additional documents, such as those of the land claims courts, censuses, etc., should be voluminous and should prove essential in ethnohistorical and archaeological research for the territorial and statehood periods.

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